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Strength Through Unity

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MISS-SEGREGATION

STRENGTH THROUGH UNITY!



Address by

GOVERNOR ROSS R. BARNETT

Of Mississippi

To

CITIZENS' COUNCIL RALLY

NEW ORLEANS

March 7, 1960

STRENGTH THROUGH UNITY!

Friends, it's always a pleasure to visit New Orleans. I am especially delighted to speak at this meeting tonight. It's a real inspiration to see this demonstration of solidarity on the part of the people of New Orleans—to see that you still have that spirit of determination which is so necessary if we are to preserve our hard-won freedoms.

Your presence here tonight indicates to me that you are doing one of the most important things any private citizen can do to help win this mortal struggle. You are supporting the Citizens' Council movement.

The Citizens' Councils and their affiliates in other Southern states are the **ONLY** private agencies which have risen to meet the challenge of our times!

The Citizens' Councils — which were born in Mississippi, I am proud to say — have now organized in thousands of communities throughout the South. They have sent a steady flow of literature into Northern and Western states. The Citizens' Councils have published a monthly newspaper for the past five years. This paper goes into every state in the Union and to many foreign countries.

Leaders of the Citizens' Council movement have appeared on speakers' platforms in the North and West dozens of times.

But perhaps the most dramatic success story of the Citizens' Council movement is in the field of television and radio. Every week, "Citizens' Council Forum" is seen and heard on more than 300 television and radio stations in 43 states — from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf.

Every week, millions of Americans everywhere watch and listen as outstanding Senators and Congressmen talk about fundamental American principles.

Friends, I am proud that I have been a Citizens' Council member since the Councils' early days. I hope that **EVERY SINGLE WHITE SOUTHERNER** will join with me in becoming a member of this fine organization. The Citizens' Councils are fighting your fight — they deserve **YOUR** support! That is

one thing each of you, as individuals, CAN and SHOULD be doing!

At the famous Battle of Liberty Place on September 14, 1874, the white citizens of New Orleans rose up in arms against the tyrannical rule of the Carpetbaggers. Local self-government was restored.

Now, after 85 years, there are those in our National Government who would once again place New Orleans and the entire South at the mercy of the NAACP and other modern-day Carpetbaggers. At this very moment, our Southern leaders in Congress are battling heroically against vicious Force Bills which would destroy individual freedom.

A willful group of evil men are behind these Force Bills. They would trade the individual freedom and the racial integrity of the South for a few thousand left wing votes in big Northern cities. They have enlisted the aid of powerful and wealthy organizations and are waging constant propaganda warfare against us.

But despite all these efforts, the people of the South will stand firm. We will not surrender ourselves to endure another siege of Carpetbag rule!

Regardless of what happens in Washington, we will not permit the NAACP and other left wing organizations to rule the South!

As a matter of fact, some of the white folks up North are getting pretty fed up with the left wing groups and their political stooges.

Only the other day, I was reading in the Citizens' Council newspaper that the North is beginning to organize—that groups are springing up all the way from New York to California, all pledged to end left wing political domination.

The fact is that the white people of the North don't like the NAACP and other left wing organizations any better than we do! They're tired of having their political spokesmen bowing and scraping for the left wing bloc vote! And they're ready to do something about it!

In spite of all the propaganda the race-mixers can produce, in spite of all the phony

“brotherhood” being talked, the fact is that the average white American, wherever he lives, doesn’t want integration! Maybe he doesn’t know WHY — and maybe the propagandists have even aroused a little sympathy in him — but **THAT’S THE WAY HE FEELS! HE DOESN’T WANT TO INTEGRATE!**

We in the South must capitalize on this feeling, before it’s too late. We have one big advantage in this struggle: The majority of Americans are **STILL** on **OUR** side! We must give our Northern friends our backing; we must show them that mixing the races leads inevitably to the production of an inferior mongrel. We must show the nation that continued separation of the races is vital, if we are to preserve the greatness of America!

If we can give **FACTS** to our friends throughout the nation, then the children of the North and West won’t be brainwashed by their left-wing teachers.

The women of the North and West won’t be fooled by the do-gooders and the social agitators.

And the men of the North and West won’t be taken in by the phony economists, who rave and rant and argue that integration is good for business.

The rest of the country is **READY** to hear our story! In fact, they are, in many cases, **BEGGING** to hear it! They need our moral support. And we cannot — we must not — let them down.

The magnitude of this project taxes the imagination. The scope it must encompass borders on the infinite. But we in the South **WILL** do the job, because it **MUST BE DONE!** There must be cooperation between the Southern states as never before. There must be no petty bickering, no wasteful duplication, no diversion of time and energy from the vital task before us.

If each Southern state were to go its separate way, perhaps **SOME** good could be accomplished. But think of the multiplied good of a unified, cooperative program, with **ALL** the Southern states working together, pooling our resources and our talent, and

armed with the certain knowledge that **RIGHT** is on **OUR** side!

To win this life-or-death fight, we must start with a **TOTAL MOBILIZATION** of all our resources. This has been delayed too long already. There is no room for halfway measures. Either we are going to **ENTER** this fight to **WIN**—and do everything possible **TO** win—or we had just as well surrender now!

I have urged the people of Mississippi and I now urge the people of the South to respond to this call for total mobilization. All of our resources—both public and private—must be fully utilized. There are certain fields where private agencies—such as the Citizens' Councils—can be most effective. There are other activities that the people should undertake through their state governments. Our leaders must get in step with our people!

The South's **FINANCIAL** resources must be mobilized. We are currently enjoying the greatest prosperity in our history. Surely, we should be willing to divert whatever funds are necessary to **WIN THIS FIGHT**, so we may continue to **ENJOY** our prosperity.

We must mobilize our **MENTAL** resources. The best brains of the South should work together to formulate specific programs in our drive to re-educate the North in fundamental American principles.

Our **MORAL** and **SPIRITUAL** resources must be mobilized. We know we're right—and we must show it in our everyday living. **WE MUST NOT APOLOGIZE FOR BEING RIGHT**; rather, we should assume the attitude of long-suffering, patient missionaries, laboring diligently to bring enlightenment to a people less fortunate than ourselves. The South has a great spritual heritage—it is the stronghold of religion in America—and our moral and spiritual leaders should provide us with the kind of leadership we will need so badly if our cause is to prevail.

Finally, we must mobilize our **PHYSICAL** resources. This means, frankly, that we must find out **NOW** who among us can be counted upon to do whatever is neces-

sary to preserve our freedoms. My friends, physical courage is a trait sadly lacking in altogether too many of the South's so-called leaders. We must separate the men from the boys. We must identify the traitors in our midst. We must eliminate the cowards from our front lines.

And friends, let me say to you tonight that in this respect, Ross Barnett will do his best to provide Mississippi with the kind of leadership that comes from setting a good example! I am sure your officials can be counted upon to do the same!

Now up to this point, I've been talking about Southern Unity in rather general terms. That's the easy way—and the safe way—to do it. Everyone's in favor of Southern Unity, as long as you keep it in the abstract. And it's easy to talk in generalities.

But friends, I propose to do more than just TALK about Southern Unity! I propose that all of us begin here and now to take specific action which will ACHIEVE that unity we're all seeking!

First, the Southern governors must really get acquainted with one another, so that we may create close, personal working relationships. That's one reason why I was so happy to see Jimmy Davis at my inauguration in Jackson last January, along with Governor John Patterson of Alabama and Governor Ernest Hollings of South Carolina. We need to get together—to really KNOW each other—to form close and lasting friendships. That's the way REAL unity begins.

Friends, I'm happy to say tonight that to my humble way of thinking, there has been more real progress made along these lines in the past two months than any time since 1948. And you all know what happened in 1948!

The leaders in our State Legislatures and our other state officials are also eager to see some real, old-fashioned Southern Unity! By exchanging visits, by meeting together periodically, the entire leadership structure of the South is being molded into a solid group. We are all under attack by the same enemies—

so why shouldn't we get together to plan the ways in which we can WIN this fight?

Now you'll notice I said WIN this fight! I didn't say we should unite to defend ourselves. There's a world of difference, friends.

In my humble opinion, we in the South have too long regarded our State governments merely as instruments of passive defense. We have been too hesitant in taking the offensive!

This is my second proposal — once our Southern leaders are united, we must launch a vigorous campaign to get the FULL POWER of our State governments into this fight as an OFFENSIVE one — to take an AGGRESSIVE position — and to take the initiative away from our enemies!

One way we can do this is through the creation of special agencies in each Southern state to coordinate our efforts, and to finance this battle with public funds.

Mississippi already has such an agency — it's called the State Sovereignty Commission. And I'm happy to learn that Louisiana, too, will very shortly have an active Sovereignty Commission, under the capable leadership of Senator Willie Rainach. Other Southern states are making similar plans.

The law which created the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission stated the Commission's functions in this manner:

"It shall be the duty of the Commission to do and perform any and all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi, and her sister states, from encroachment thereon by the Federal Government or any branch, department or agency thereof, and to resist the usurpation of the rights and powers reserved to this state and our sister states by the Federal Government or any branch, department or agency thereof."

Now, the Mississippi Legislature which adopted this act four years ago certainly didn't think that one state could do the job all by itself. Not at all. In fact, here's what our Legislature wrote into the law regarding how the Commission should carry out its duties:

“The Commission may cooperate with one or more of the states of the Union, or any agency or agencies, commission or commissions thereof, or with any person or persons, corporation or corporations, organization or organizations, and may join with them or any of them, and pool such of the funds and resources of this Commission in carrying out the objectives and purposes of this act as may be deemed necessary and proper by the Commission.”

Let me ask you — isn't this a fine example of Southern Unity already in being? Wouldn't it be wonderful if ALL the Southern states would create similar commissions, to work together toward our common goals? This is my third proposal — that each state create a special agency to work on this problem, in cooperation with similar groups from other Southern states, and also in cooperation with private agencies, such as the Citizens' Councils.

Ladies and gentlemen, the PEOPLE of the South are making great progress toward getting united! Just look at the thousands of dollars from all over the South that poured in to Little Rock and to Virginia for their private schools. The PEOPLE of the South already realize that what happens somewhere else today can have a profound influence on what happens AT HOME tomorrow. And the people are anxious to DO SOMETHING about it!

Let me say here that the Citizens' Councils throughout the South are the ONE capable and responsible organization through which our people are making their strength felt through unity.

Friends, that's what our Southern State governments need, too — STRENGTH THROUGH UNITY! There's no need to waste our time in planning strategy until we have that strength mobilized — strength in our Governors, Legislatures, private citizens, and organizations.

Then and only then will our views prevail. When we HAVE the strength, the solutions of ALL our problems will be easy. Our strength will give us the means of solving them.

My friends, the only way we can WIN this fight is to DEFEAT the enemy—to destroy them before they destroy us. No victory can ever be won if we sit back and wait for our enemies to attack us. Our enemies wish we would continue such a policy. That way, they could pick off the entire South, one state at a time, concentrating all their propaganda machinery and all their high-priced legal talent on just ONE state.

But we are not going to fall into this trap. We still remember the words of Benjamin Franklin, spoken at the beginning of the American Revolution. Franklin said: "We must all hang together, or, assuredly we shall all hang separately." Friends, that statement is just as true today as it was in Colonial times. The South must stick together if victory is to be ours. The left-wing elements in this nation must be completely and utterly crushed—and that's just what we intend to do, using as our chief weapon the impact of nationwide public opinion.

There is another vital area where the South must stand united against a common enemy. That is in the field of national politics. This summer, both major political parties will hold their national conventions to write platforms and select candidates for President and Vice-President.

And if present indications hold true, the conventions will degenerate into a contest in which each party tries to outdo the other in submitting the South to abuse, vilification, scorn and contempt. Both parties will likely be eagerly seeking the title of champion South-haters.

This unhappy prediction can be forestalled only by forceful, determined and courageous leadership in the South, acting boldly to preserve the self-respect of a proud and honorable people.

I have told my people repeatedly that, as far as national politics are concerned, I am a MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRAT—and the first word of that phrase means far more to me than the second!

When I go to the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles this summer, I will conduct myself at all times AS a Mis-

Mississippi Democrat. I will remember at all times that as Governor of Mississippi, I am at that convention representing the people of our great state. And the racial integrity of our people is NOT for sale on the political auction block!

Where the principles of the people of Mississippi are involved, there can be no compromise! The people did not elect me Governor of Mississippi to bargain their heritage away in a smoke-filled room!

I did not become their Governor to preside over the liquidation of our precious freedoms!

And I know that the Governors of most other Southern states feel as I do in this regard. The only question in the minds of the dedicated leaders of the South is what course should be followed.

This decision must be made soon. It must be made while there is time for active consultation among our political leaders throughout the South. It must not be delayed until the last minute when our opponents will use the age-old strategy of divide and conquer.

The South must go to the Democratic National Convention UNITED—and the South must REMAIN united, either IN the Convention or OUT!

Friends, I am happy to be able to report to you tonight that within a very short time, the Southern Governors will meet to plan our unified course of action!

I am confident that out of this meeting will come a determined, fearless course of action—one which every loyal Southerner will be proud to support.

You will then know that the South is committed, solidly and in advance, to a plan of action which will show our desire to remain in the political house of our fathers, while at the same time demonstrating in no uncertain terms that we do not intend to acquiesce in the destruction of the IDEALS of our fathers by ANY party!

There are some who will declare solemnly that they stand for peace at any price—that we must work out our difficulties within the framework of the Democratic party,

regardless of the insult, calumny and abuse which come our way.

I say to you that **THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS PEACE AT ANY PRICE!** Such men do not seek peace — they seek to bind the South in the chains of political slavery. I ask you tonight: What is your choice? Will you place yourselves in permanent political bondage? Or will you act as **FREE MEN?**

I've been thinking over some of our political problems, and I would like to make a few observations.

First is this: If sanity is to be restored to our national government, the South must be the moving force. And a **UNITED SOUTH WILL HAVE A TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE** on the outcome of this Fall's elections.

Next, we must make **SURE** that the South will have **REAL** freedom of choice and action this Fall! We must be absolutely certain that our people will have the opportunity to vote their real convictions! In Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, and other Southern states, the people are ready to cast off the yoke of Northern political domination. Citizens of many other states are demanding the same freedom.

I've already said back home that the Mississippi Democratic Party should hold a recessed state convention — a convention that will automatically meet back **AFTER** the national convention to review whatever decisions are made in Los Angeles by the national party. Naturally, I hope other Southern states will do the same!

A few days ago, Congressman Bill Colmer addressed a joint session of our Mississippi Legislature. He's the dean of our State's Congressional delegation, and is also the chairman of the Southern strategy group in Congress.

Congressman Colmer and a number of other Southern leaders have, for some time, been urging adoption of a plan to put **INDEPENDENT ELECTORS** on the ballot in every Southern state this November.

He told the Mississippi Legislature that the 11 Southern states have a total of 128

electoral votes — the biggest single minority bloc vote in the country! and he urged that these 128 electoral votes be withheld from any candidate not acceptable to the South.

The joint session cheered when Congressman Colmer pointed out that a united South, by withholding its electoral votes, could prevent any candidate from getting a majority in the electoral college, and thereby throw the election into the House of Representatives, where every state has just one vote.

This, of course, could result in the election of a Southern compromise candidate to the Presidency.

Friends, this came very close to happening back in 1948 — just two more Southern states would have done this. And I have the feeling that the South will be MORE united and MORE powerful this Fall than it was 12 years ago! Southern voters will have an opportunity to vote their convictions on Election Day!

I believe this Independent Elector proposal has merit from two standpoints. First, if the Democrats and Republicans get into a close race up North, the 128 INDEPENDENT ELECTORS from the South — the SOLID SOUTH — would be a real factor in determining the outcome of the Presidential election. The South would hold the balance of power!

But even if this were NOT the case, the proposal is still sound on a MORAL basis. Friends, I AM GOING TO VOTE MY CONVICTIONS THIS NOVEMBER! The way I look at it, if we vote for integration, how can we expect anything else?

One of the Northern parties is virtually certain to nominate a Presidential candidate who's a card-carrying member of the NAACP. The way things look now, BOTH parties might do this.

CAN YOU VOTE FOR AN NAACP MEMBER FOR PRESIDENT?

Ross Barnett certainly cannot! In my humble opinion, if we are so foolish as to vote for our own destruction, we will deserve whatever we get as a consequence!

Now if both parties DO nominate NAACP members for President, what can we in the South do?

Well, friends, we certainly can't vote for EITHER of them! We've got to be sure we've got someplace to go on Election Day — and there sure wouldn't be enough fishing holes to go around! I intend to see that the people of Mississippi DO have someplace to go — someplace on the ballot where they can cast their votes without apology, and without sacrificing our cherished American principles and Southern heritage. As a loyal Southerner, I can do no less!

We must not commit ourselves in advance to whatever Earl Warren or Walter Reuther may decide! We MUST become united — we must pledge ourselves to stick together, to put the South in the strongest possible bargaining position. An Independent Elector plan MUST be a South-wide plan. There is NO PLACE in the Solid South for splinter movements — we MUST be united in whatever we do!

Only a prophet could tell at this early date what the outcome of the 1960 election will be. I will not even venture a guess. But I DO know this: When the election is over, Ross Barnett will not have to apologize. I will be able to look the people of Mississippi in the eye and say, "I have kept the faith."

And I know that the good people of New Orleans and of the state of Louisiana can also be depended upon to keep the faith — to fight the good fight.

Your grandfathers and mine kept faith, even beneath the conqueror's boot. In this great city of New Orleans — and throughout your state and mine — loyal Southerners remained true to their principles, even while enduring the cruel excesses of the Reconstruction era.

Our grandfathers did not give us victory in the sixties; instead, they left us something far more priceless, an example of courage and a heritage of valor and sacrifice.

They did not surrender! They fought on — with heavy hearts, it is true — but the

thought of surrender did not cross their minds. And, in the end, victory was theirs.

One of the greatest statesmen and historians of the 20th Century — Winston Churchill — described our courageous ancestors in these eloquent terms

“Better their complete destruction than that history had recorded that they had yielded. Any man can be trampled down by superior force, and death, in whatever shape it comes, is only death, which comes to all.”

Friends, as far as I'm concerned, the day of the artful dodger in Southern politics is ended. The time of the apologist is gone. Ross Barnett is a MISSISSIPPI SEGREGATIONIST AND PROUD OF IT! And I will do everything within my power to preserve our sacred heritage, and to unite the South behind a bold and determined program to make the influence of the South felt throughout the nation.

My friends, THE SOLID SOUTH WILL AGAIN BECOME A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH!

Two weeks ago today, I was in Nashville, Tennessee. And there, on the steps of the Tennessee State Capitol building, I saw a tablet inscribed with an immortal pledge to the South.

I should like to renew that pledge tonight, in the presence of this great audience. The inscription reads:

“The South is a land that has known sorrows; it is a land that has broken the ashen crust and moistened it with tears; a land scarred and riven by the plowshares of war and billowed with the graves of her dead; but a land of legend, a land of song, a land of hallowed and heroic memories.

“To that land every drop of my blood, every fibre of my being, every pulsation of my heart is consecrated forever. I was born of her womb; I was nurtured at her breast; and when my last hour shall come, I pray God that I will be pillowed upon her bosom and rocked to sleep within her tender and encircling arms.”

Thank you, good night, and God bless you.



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
WRITE TO THE
EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE
CITIZENS' COUNCILS
GREENWOOD, Miss.

—
READ AND PASS ON



WE NEED YOUR HELP

We hope you can make a contribution to the Educational Fund which will be used to

- (1) Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for states' rights and racial integrity.
- (2) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

Our auditors believe contributions will be deductible from your income tax. Every effort will be made to get this tax-free status, and we believe these efforts will be successful.